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THE BUTCHER, THE BAKER, THE MOVIEMAKER
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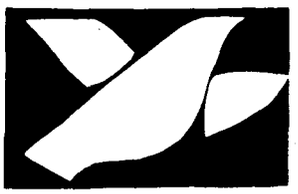

WAR AND
An exchange
PHIL TRACY
SLOYAN on

AMERICAN BISHOPS
ON C. ZAHN;
ON; GERARD
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NEWS & VIEWS

Where There's Smoke . . . .

The Nixon Administration is again circling to the lure of the supersonic transport plane (SST), and if the Supreme Court ever overturns lower court decisions on sonic booms and aircraft noise, it just may be tempted to snap once again at that lure.

The latter possibility is quite real, particularly since January 17, when the High Court granted the government its appeal on a lower court ruling that the government must pay for damage to residences caused by sonic booms from Air Force jets on training missions without proof that the pilots were negligent.

The appeal will be heard by the full Court with its four Nixon appointees, and if the Nixon Court reverses, as could happen—well, hold your hats.

Sonic booms and noise are two of the major problems connected with development of an SST, and if legal defense against these is lessened by the High Court, environmentalists will have lost a key element in their anti-SST case.

The SST will remain, however, a devilishly noisy gadget and, among other things, an impossibly dirty one besides.

In one landing and takeoff, an ordinary jet airplane doses the environment with as much soot as 2,500 automobiles produce in an entire day. But that's nothing alongside the SST, if one can make a presumption or two from a recent *Manchester Guardian* story.

The Guardian covered a demonstration at Fairford of the three completed Concordes, the British-French entry in the SST sweepstakes. One of the three abandoned a test flight because of mechanical problems, but those that flew—wow!

Concorde 001 and Concorde 002 "took off and landed within five minutes of each other and left a covering of smoke and fumes that was evident 15 minutes later."

On one practice run, reported *The Guardian*, the smoke that one of the Concordes left behind at the end of the runway was still there when it returned 10 minutes later.

Viewers of the demonstration were prepared for the spectacle, according to *The Guardian*; they had received their first lesson on the fumes of the Concorde as 002 pulled from the spectators' stand: "Suddenly about 100 people were coughing."

The irony of the Concorde's smoke and fumes pollution is that at the Paris air show last year Concorde officials were blithely touting the cleanliness of the Concorde, and downgrading the Lockheed Galaxy C-5A as "the father and mother of smoke."

Concorde officials still strike a remarkably debonair pose with respect to the Concorde's smoke and fumes problem. "A couple of tablets in the fuel tanks" will take care of things, remarked a British Aircraft Corporation spokesman, "but obviously this has not been our prime concern with the prototypes."

But it is a concern now among people who live along the routes the Concorde is scheduled to fly, says *The Guardian*. In addition to all else they must worry about how many tons of particulate matter and carbon monoxide are going to be dumped on their heads from on high. No minor concern, this; not when the much-less-fouling regular jets are already emitting tons of particulates and carbon monoxide.

How many tons? I don't know for England, but in the New York area alone the total is 10,000 tons a year.

Sauce for the Gander

Leonard Ross applies Galbraith to Galbraith in his *New York Review* piece on the "new, completely updated" edition (publisher's quotes) of *The New Industrial State*:

"Almost nothing is changed except the price—$8.95, up from $6.95 in 1967, a 29 percent increase during a period in which the Consumer Price Index was rising 22 percent, reminding us how inflation, in the words of an earlier Galbraith book, undermines 'all the amenities which Western man has so laboriously built up and which permit him to describe himself as civilized.' "

Adds Ross: "More immediately, the publication of this higher priced but virtually unaltered edition during the Phase One 90-day price freeze has raised one of those tricky technical questions that send weak-spirited men to their lawyers."

Vadillo Siempre (Mexico)

Divine Providence

The *New Republic* confessed to being a "male chauvinist" in its Dec. 25 issue, after a reader wrote in pointing out that out of 450 signed articles, poems and book reviews in *NR* during 1971 (through Dec. 3), only five articles were by women, six book reviews, and four poems.

Does *New Republic* regard 15 out of 450 as acceptable?, demanded the correspondent.

The letter sent *Commonweal's* male chauvinists nervously to the index to check our record. Quick relief; 39 articles by women, 15 poems, 23 reviews. The percentage might not be what it should be, but 77 out of 406 sure beats 15 out of 450.

Odds and Ends

—You've come a long way Yahweh since the Hebrew word translated you as "He who makes it happen." A Chicago firm is offering a salesman-motivation film entitled "Make it Happen." The Moses of the film is Julius Boros, who's described in the accompanying hagiographa as someone "your salesmen, whether they are cubs or vets, will love and respond to."

—From Julian Walker's article in *The Month* on the French episcopacy:

"There are also signs that a naive ultramontanism is recrudescent. So Bishop Tourel of Montpellier presented the nomination of an auxiliary for his diocese in the following words: 'Today I am able to pass on to you good tidings which fill me with joy. The Holy Father is giving me Père Jean Orchampt as auxiliary.'

"One imagines that Père Orchampt had been flown in by a stork direct from Rome and found one morning in the palace garden at Montpellier reclining under a gooseberry bush."

JOHN DEEDY

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CORRESPONDENCE

Bishops on the War

Washington, D.C.

To the Editors: I was out of the country when Gordon Zahn's article "The Scandal of Silence" was published in your issue of October 22 and have only now had an opportunity to read the piece. A response is obviously in order. *(To complicate life a little more, the original of this letter was never received at this office, thus delaying its publication even further.—Ed.)*

The jumping-off place for Mr. Zahn's article on the stance of the U.S. bishops vis-à-vis the Vietnam war is a 10-page summary document prepared by the National Catholic Office for Information and distributed to news media in July. Mr. Zahn describes this document as "an apparently deliberate attempt to create, by means of a highly selective approach to history, a false impression that the formal leadership of the church has been a source of consistent, though prudently restrained, opposition to the war."

The document is no such thing, and Mr. Zahn is, so far as I am aware, the only person up to now to have supposed otherwise. A memorandum accompanying the document describes it as "an extensive though not exhaustive chronology of statements made by Catholic bishops, both collectively and individually, over the last several years" on the subject of Vietnam and expresses the hope that it may be of use to newsmen as "a source of reference." That seemed to me at the time and seems to me now a perfectly adequate characterization.

Mr. Zahn's complaint is, so far as I can tell, that the document presents only statements by bishops, questioning or criticizing the Vietnam war and omits statements by bishops in support of the American involvement. From this he concludes that it was "an apparently deliberate attempt to create . . . a false impression." There are several things to be said about this: first, as to

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STATE-OF-THE-UNION WEEK

Columnist James Reston placed his finger on one deficiency of the American congressional system when he lamented that State of the Union addresses are not the beginning of honest political inquiry into the true state of the nation, but rather one-sided proclamations which one political party ceremoniously extols and the other ritualistically scores. This situation is regrettable at any time, but never more so than in a presidential election year, when, for the country's welfare, the state of the union should be presented bluntly and in such fashion as to stimulate discussion. It does not happen, and it did not happen the other day when President Nixon delivered the third State of the Union message of his presidency.

This message was not the blatant piece of politics it could have been; Richard Nixon is much too shrewd to lower himself now to the mean levels on which he used to operate, the more so when there are lieutenants to do the unpleasant tasks. The new Nixon is cuts above the old—but thoroughly political and self-serving nonetheless. So it was that Mr. Nixon tactfully produced two versions of his State of the Union message: a 15,000-word printed document, which was presented to Senators and Representatives for their presumably more thoughtful perusal; and a generalized half-hour address geared not to the attention-span of the Congress (which is conditioned to speeches of almost infinite duration, one would presume), so much as to the audiences that would be catching Mr. Nixon on television, live or by delayed transcription. This enabled Mr. Nixon to engage for the public's eye in what he does best: a recital of personal achievements and the pieties of patriotism. Thus the nation learned that Mr. Nixon had virtually rescued it from Vietnam, from disorder in the cities, rebellion on campus, rampant inflation and unchecked pollution; it heard that nirvana would be even closer, except that Congress was sitting on "90 major proposals"; it listened to the glories of Nixon diplomacy; then was treated to a peroration on the Statue of Liberty and the indigenous goodness of America.

Very little of all this had a true ring, not so much because a quite different scenario can be drawn from the same elements used by Mr. Nixon, but because an unreality undercut so much of what he had to say. It was false rhetoric, for instance, to proclaim that "what is best about America is its compassion," when that very same day the weekly casualty figures from

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Vietnam were informing that American dead in that compassionless war had now reached 45,637, with South Vietnamese military dead in the neighborhood of 150,000, "enemy" dead 800,000, and civilian deaths over a million. By the same token, it was cynical to urge "high statesmanship" and an election politics that "transcend [ed] partisanship," while over the shoulder sat the person who for three years has epitomized the dirtiest kind of political partisanship, and who is on line for this year's election, Spiro Agnew.

The Nixon message was thus a thorough disappointment, but hardly less so than the countermessage of the Democrats offered on national TV the following day. Instead of using the time to open the honest political inquiry which so many see as urgent, the Democrats played their own narrow politics and moved not a single issue from Mr. Nixon's middle grounds. It was left to editorial writers of the daily press to raise substantive points, such as the why of a higher defense budget for fiscal '73 ($83 billion!), when the hot war is "com[ing] to an end" (Mr. Nixon's words), when the SALT talks allegedly promise so much, and when the Peking and Moscow initiatives hold out their respective hopes for an easing of tensions with regard to China and Russia.

The real message of State-of-the-Union week, in sum, is that the country moves into a presidential election year carrying the past that must be left behind if the country is to survive with the greatness and goodness which Republicans and Democrats idealize about . . . That past in which images and superficialities decided into whose hands the destiny of the nation would be consigned. Perhaps the problem is that the nation's principal political parties have become so much alike that it is difficult to discuss program or party basics without appearing to be debating some intramural technicality. If so, the answer lies in something more radical than the political oneupmanship of the game being played thus far. It may even lie in a third party strong enough to challenge current presuppositions that the point of an election is to elect either Democrats or Republicans.

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FROM BRITAIN

THE BAD WITH THE GOOD

The Catholic bishops in England have been in the news here just lately—which is unusual. Some of the news they have made is good, some bad. Let's take the good news first.

On the first Sunday of Advent, my son—aged fifteen—came home from Mass in our local church to say that the Archbishop's pastoral letter for Advent was a hard-hitting plea, not just for "peace" in general but for very specific causes. I was skeptical. It was very unusual, to say the least, that a pastoral letter should take sides, or name names on any issue of a political or quasi-political nature. But when later that morning I heard it myself, I realized my son was right. The Archbishop of Birmingham had obviously decided he had had enough of vague generalities. It was time to "call things by their proper names." So he attacked, first of all the house-arrest of Father Cosmas Desmond by the South African government; then the imminent probable sell-out of the Africans in Rhodesia; and finally the Compton report on torture in Ireland and its absurd distinction between "ill-treatment" and "brutality."

Admittedly, all of these topics have been discussed extensively in the papers and on TV, so the Archbishop's words were not in themselves new or surprising. They were the current coin of moderate left-wing or liberal opinion. What was surprising was that an Archbishop should nail his colors publicly to that particular masthead —or indeed any mast at all—knowing that he would thereby alienate some significant elements of public opinion, and annoy the government. That his letter marked a break with the tradition of pious generalities in pastoral letters was proved by the extensive quotation and discussion it evoked in the secular as well as the religious press. Even the controversial Editor of *New Blackfriars* —Fr. Herbert McCabe—was drawn to praising the letter in his editorial for December. "The challenge of the gospel has not been issued unless there is some party-line, some attitude or ideology that is threatened by it," Fr. McCabe says: and he obviously thinks (rightly) that most pastoral letters fail to do this. It remains to be seen whether Archbishop Dwyer's pastoral will have set a trend for the future towards more precision and outspokenness.

That there may be some hope of this is indicated by another recent event: a letter from Bishop Charles Grant, of Northampton, who is Chairman of the National Commission for Justice and Peace, to Edward Heath. This was about Northern Ireland: and once again, a certain readiness to take sides and annoy the government is notable in what the bishop—on behalf of the whole commission— said. The bishop was also interviewed on the radio about the letter, which gave it extra publicity in the post-Christmas period. Three important points stand out: the clear insistence that internment has failed and made things worse (a fact which, by now, most people except dedicated government supporters seem to agree about); a condemnation of the Compton Report for its "provocative and irrelevant" attempt to distinguish ill-

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treatment from brutality; and a detailed demand for righting certain particular injustices attendant upon, but by no means intrinsic to, internment.

So far as I know, there has been no official government reply to all this, though a tory MP did defend the government against the letter's assertions on the radio. Probably the best measure of the degree of notice to be taken of this letter will be any action, or lack of action, on the specific points raised about bureaucratic injustices against internees and their families—but that may not get into the news. What matters more is the fact that the letter was written at all. It seems clear that the Northern Ireland issue is, at last, beginning to radicalize thinking Catholics in England, especially the clergy, in a way no other cause could possibly have done. A large group of priests have publicly condemned both internment and torture of internees, and though the bishops have not associated themselves with this protest, it is clear from the letter where some at least of the episcopal sympathy lies. It may be very important in England that this movement towards the recognition of the duty of political side-taking by the church should be fostered and preserved, by a campaign to show the interconnectedness of all the various issues facing Catholics in Britain—Rhodesia, Ireland, domestic racialism, the whole gamut of government policy from industrial relations to the commercialization of the media and the current attempts to stifle students' unions in Universities.

Less important than these events was the announcement by Bishop Alan Clark of Northampton of some measure of agreement between Catholic and Anglican experts on the Eucharist. I haven't seen the full document, only press reports of it. It remains to be seen how far it is accepted and what its ultimate effects will be. Predictably, because it does not use the vocabulary of Trent or the sixteenth century, it has been received with suspicion at Rome, and with positive hostility by the Catholic Priests Association (an extreme conservative group). Equally predictably, no doubt, it will be welcomed by liberal ecumenists and the more soft-headed among Catholic intellectuals. It won't begin to have much practical effect unless and until its natural corollary—recognition of Anglican orders—is achieved, when it will certainly have some startling results, and upset plenty of ordinary people. For my own part, I suspect that most of the interesting theological issues about the Eucharist lie outside the range of any discussion designed to reconcile two established ecclesiastical traditions: for what matters is whether these traditions are themselves viable any longer. Do the ecumenists merely fiddle while both Rome and Canterbury burn?

That Rome, or at any rate the spirit of Rome, is not burnt out yet is proved by the bad piece of news, which I save up till last. This is that Cardinal Heenan has banned three supposedly controversial guest lecturers from speaking at Corpus Christi College, London—a Catholic center for higher studies and training under ecclesiastical control—and as a result the Principal and most of his senior staff have resigned in protest. The guest speakers included Gregory Baum and Edna McDonagh, both well-known no doubt to *Commonweal* readers. Another was John Marshall, a respected lay expert on marriage who voted with the majority on the Pope's birth control commission.

The people who have resigned seem to me, from my limited knowledge, to be of the extreme center theologically, far from being the kind who parade their public consciences or make unnecessary gestures. The college has been in the news before, because of disagreements between teaching staff and the controlling authorities (in practice, the Cardinal). The issue this time is simply that of academic freedom. As a university lecturer at an institution that has had its own troubles on the academic freedom front, I realize that these are tricky questions, in which the full facts are hard to sort out. Nevertheless, this case seems on the face of it to be a particularly blatant one, and the resignation of people as phlegmatic as Father Hubert Richards proves that there is something very seriously wrong with the whole setup.

The Cardinal has spoken a lot about widespread disquiet concerning the college resulting from the earlier troubles (which ended with two former staff members resigning not only from the college but also, eventually, from the priesthood over the contraception issue). But it has never been clear who was worried—was it Rome? or some of the bishops? or a lunatic fringe like the Catholic Priests Association and the "Pro Fide" group (another extreme conservative, mostly lay body)? Nobody really knows: and meanwhile, Cardinal Heenan still apparently talks of appointing "non-controversial" people to fill the vacancies. He'll find it hard to discover them: and I hope the jobs are boycotted. The college ought not to continue as it is: it doesn't deserve to.

BRIAN WICKER

(*Brian Wicker is* Commonweal's *correspondent in Great Britain.*)

NEXT WEEK

JOHN C. MEAGHER discusses the problem of Christian identity, on and off campus:

"The church promises, and even lays claim to, a more abundant life. Is such a claim credible when tested for vitality against the quickened pulse of modern ideals? Not obviously, it seems. In the vital center of contemporary life, one finds persistently a deep misgiving: What has the Christian heritage to do with *now*, with understanding and action in the face of the needs and urgencies of our time? What has Christianity to do with what we find ourselves and our world becoming?"

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YOUR F.B.I. IN PEACE AND WAR

PETER STEINFELS

THE "Confessions" of a former F.B.I. agent published by the *New York Review of Books* and prominently reported in some newspapers may revive the debate about whether civil liberties are seriously endangered in the United States today. Certainly those who say they are will find further verification in these revelations: clear political bias, indiscriminate and unjustified gathering of files, covert operations designed to confuse and sabotage political movements which met with the bureau's disapproval. Particularly disturbing are (1) the author's report that 50 agents worked full time for more than a month seeking evidence to indict Stokely Carmichael for inciting the Washington, D.C., riots which followed the assassination of Martin Luther King; (2) the author's discovery that the Internal Revenue Service had a special squad to investigate taxes of "known militants and activists"; (3) the monitoring of bank and telephone records of the Institute for Policy Studies, a radical "think-tank," the investigation of people who worked with it, and an attempt to infiltrate it with informants.

But the F.B.I. which the "Confessions" reveal is hardly the well-oiled machine both its enemies and its admirers often imagine. Consider "The Case of the Drum and Spear Bookstore," a likely episode for *The F.B.I. Story*. The adventure begins when two members of SNCC open a bookstore in northwest Washington. Swiftly the Bureau moves into action. Efrem Zimbalist, Jr., spends months watching the bookstore, investigating its owners and its bank records. Nothing. Then one day the orders come down from on high: Go, Agent Zimbalist, and buy a copy of Mao's "Little Red Book" at the Drum and Spear Bookstore. "It was obvious to us," explains the author of the "Confessions," Robert Wall, "that the supervisor felt that the bookstore, by selling this book, was somehow implicated in the Oriental branch of the Communist conspiracy."

Agent Zimbalist goes forth, only to discover that the bookstore has sold its last copy. He fights back his discouragement, proceeds to Brentano's, buys a copy of Mao, passes it on to the supervisor. Mission accomplished: "Thereafter, the written description of the Drum and Spear contained the note that radical literature including the "Little Red Book" of Mao Tse-tung was obtainable there."

Your F.B.I. in peace and war.

This is not the only glimpse the author incidentally provides us of the bureau at work. In fact we see as much of the soft underbelly as of the dirty hands. The anti-subversive squad in the D.C. office was familiarly referred to as "the graveyard"—the resting place for tired agents whose big time had been the Red Scare era of the '40s and '50s. They like to chew over old adventures, with a special interest in the clandestine sex lives of Party members they had been assigned to survey. The Washington Communist Party was, of course, down to three members by 1967; but the squad nonetheless drearily checked up on hundreds of its former subjects of investigation: "It was simpler and required much less paperwork to certify that the subject still needed watching." The peace movement, understandably enough, was a godsend.

The author recalls the writing of a report on campus unrest, a task assigned to an extremely conservative agent. "In the banter of the office, I had hung the label 'fascist pig' on him. He in turn called me the 'Father Groppi' of the office, or 'Grop' for short." Such jovial banter, however, seemed to exhaust the native wit of the bureau, for when "Grop" was excluded from a meeting intended to discuss the "fascist pig's" report, the best reason the higher-ups could provide was that the author was the fifth person to request attendance—and "unfortunately Mr. Sullivan's office had only four chairs for visitors"!

One gets the distinct feeling that Parkinson's laws, rather than Mr. Hoover's, rule the F.B.I. When the author receives an impossible request for information on SDS, he solves the problem by imitating a predecessor and reporting no significant SDS activity in the area. "Shortly thereafter, when the squad was beefed up, I arranged to have the SDS case reassigned to one of the newcomers." Plagued by a supervisor of the "Racial Desk" who believes every altercation between police and blacks to indicate a conspiracy to drive police out of black communities, the agents in Mr. Wall's squad would scan the first edition of the *Washington Post* for items of such a nature. Early arrivers at the office "would clip the item, call the precinct to verify the names of the persons arrested, and then paraphrase the news item in a teletype message to bureau headquarters, advising them that we were following the incident and would report any further developments. A month or two later, the agent to whom the case was assigned would close it with a letter stating that the incident was apparently spontaneous and not part of a conspiracy. . . ."

The bureaucratic impulse is at least as important as the political one. The agents shape their reports to confirm the statements of Mr. Hoover, and Mr. Hoover shapes his statements to justify the F.B.I.'s existence as well as its requests for ever grander budgets. When the author himself proposed the investigation of the Institute for Policy Studies, "my supervisor quickly agreed: he was then trying to increase the case load of the squad to justify a request for an increase in manpower." After gathering a vast dossier, Wall closed the investigation (it was reopened later by another agent); he notes, however, that "To

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ABORTION AND SEXUAL CASTE

MARY DALY

Women did not arbitrarily choose abortion as part of their platform. It has arisen out of the realities of their situation.

In panels and discussions on religion and abortion I frequently have cited my favorite set of statistics: one hundred percent of the bishops who oppose the repeal of anti-abortion laws are men and one hundred percent of the people who have abortions are women. These "statistics" have the double advantage of being both irrefutable and entertaining, thereby placing the speaker in an enviable situation vis-à-vis the audience. More important than this, however, is the fact that this simple juxtaposition of data suggests something of the context in which problems concerning the morality of abortion and the repeal of anti-abortion laws should be understood. That is, I'm proposing that the issue of the repeal of anti-abortion laws should be seen within the wide context of the oppression of women in sexually hierarchical society.

Society as we know it is characterized by a sexual caste system in which men and women constitute birth-ascribed, hierarchically ordered groups, having unequal access to "goods, services, prestige, and well-being" (from Berreman's description of caste). There is already available abundant researched material demonstrating the existence of such social inequality of the sexes in all basic areas: access to income, occupational specialization, prestige, self-esteem, behavior, sexual privileges, and institutional power. All of this is enforced through sex role segregation, which in some ways is more devastating than spatial segregation (as in a ghetto), for it prevents comparisons and masks inequalities.

Patriarchal religion—in its various forms with their varying degress of intensity—functions to legitimate sexual caste, affirming that it is in harmony with "nature" and "God's plan." It does this in a number of interrelated ways, and I am proposing that rigidity on the abortion issue should be seen as part of the syndrome. It is less than realistic to ignore the evidence suggesting that within Roman Catholicism the "official" opposition to the repeal of anti-abortion laws is profoundly interconnected—on the level of motivations, basic assumptions, and style of argumentation—with positions on other issues. Such interconnected issues include birth control, divorce, the subordination of women in marriage and in religious life, and the exclusion of women from the ranks of the clergy.

The fact that all of the major ethical studies of the abortion problem have been done by men is itself symptomatic of women's oppressed condition. The concepts, terminology, and modes of questioning and reasoning in theology and philosophy all have been devised by men under the conditions of patriarchy. As Simone de Beauvoir pointed out, women have been obliged to exhaust themselves just in the process of survival and, in the case of feminists, of breaking through the barriers imposed upon their sex. They have had little energy left for developing a real opposition to the prevailing culture. Moreover, as is the case in all oppressed groups, women suffer from a duality of consciousness, having internalized the consciousness of the superordinate group. Divided within themselves and against themselves, women by and large have not been able to challenge the value system of the dominant elite, even in matters vitally affecting their own lives.

Since the condition of sexual caste has been camouflaged so successfully by sex role segregation, it has been difficult to perceive anti-abortion laws and anti-abortion

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ethical arguments within this context. Yet it is only by perceiving them within this total environment of patriarchial bias that it is possible to assess realistically how they function in society. If, for example, one-sided arguments using such loaded terminology as "the *murder* of the unborn *child*" are viewed as independent units of thought unrelated to the kind of society in which they were formulated, then they may well appear plausible and cogent. However, once the fact of sexual caste and its implications have been unveiled, such arguments and the laws they attempt to justify can be recognized as consistent with the rationalizations of a system that oppresses women but incongruous with the experience and needs of women.

A number of male-authored essays on abortion that have appeared recently in liberal publications (including *Commonweal*) have been praised for their "clarity" and "objectivity." Yet in many cases, I suggest, such articles give the illusion of clarity precisely because they concentrate upon some selected facts or data while leaving out of consideration the assumptions, attitudes, stereotypes, customs and arrangements which make up the fabric of the world in which the problem of abortion arises. Moreover, upon closer examination, their "objectivity" can be seen as the detachment of an external judge who a) does not share or comprehend the experience of the women whose lives are deeply involved and b) has by reason of his privileged situation within the sexual caste system a built-in vested interest opposed to the interest of those most immediately concerned.

Illustrative of this problem is an article by Professor George Huntston Williams of Harvard in which the author proposes as model for the politics of abortion a "sacred condominium" in which the progenitors and the "body politic" "share sovereignty in varying degrees and in varying circumstances." As he develops his thesis, it becomes evident, I think, that the woman's judgment is submerged in the condominium, and that the theory's pretensions to offer reasonable solutions are belied by the realities of sexual politics in the society in which we actually live. Basically, Professor Williams' theory ignores the fact that since men and women are not social equals, the representatives of the male-dominated "body politic" cannot be assumed to judge without bias. It also overlooks the fact that the "progenitors" do not have equal roles in the entire reproductive process, since it is obviously the woman who has the burden of pregnancy and since under prevailing social conditions the task of upbringing is left chiefly and sometimes solely to the woman. It disregards the fact that the male sometimes deserts his wife or companion (or threatens desertion) in a situation of unwanted pregnancy.

The inadequacies of Professor Williams' approach are evident in his treatment of the problem of abortion in the case of rape. He writes:

> Society's role . . . would be limited to ascertaining the validity of the charge of rape. Here the principals in the condominium could be at odds in assessing the case and require specialized arbitration. If this were the case, the medical and legal professions could be called upon together with that of social work. But *even if rape is demonstrable* (italics mine) the mother may surely assent to the continuance of the misplaced life within her . . . (from "The Sacred Condominium," in *The Morality of Abortion,* edited by John Noonan).

What is left out in this eloquent, multisyllabic, and seemingly rational discussion? First, it does not take into consideration the bias of a society which is male-controlled and serves male interests. Second, (and implied in the first point), it leaves out the fact that it is very difficult to prove rape. In New York State, for example, one must have corroborating evidence to convict a man of rape. In some states, if the man accused of rape was known previously by the woman, this fact can be used in his defense. According to the laws of many states, it is impossible for a man to rape his wife. Moreover, women who have been raped and who have attempted to report the crime to the police frequently have reported that the police treated them with ridicule and contempt, insinuating that they must have worn provocative clothing or invited the attack in some way. The whole mechanism of "blaming the victim" thus works against them, adding to the trauma and suffering already endured. Nor are the police alone in taking this view of the situation. Their judgment reflects the same basic attitude of sexist society which is given physical expression in the rapist's act.

The kind of spiritual counseling that women frequently receive within the "sacred condominium" is exemplified in an article by Fr. Bernard Häring. Writing of the woman who has been raped, he says:

> We must, however, *try to motivate her* [italics his] to consider the child with love because of its subjective innocence, and to bear it in suffering through to birth, whereupon she may consider her *enforced maternal obligation fulfilled* [italics mine] and may give over the child to a religious or governmental agency, after which she would try to resume her life with the sanctity that she will undoubtedly have achieved through the great sacrifice and suffering (from "A Theological Evolution," in *The Morality of Abortion,* edited by John Noonan).

Fr. Häring adds that if she has already "yielded to the violent temptation" to rid herself of the effects of her experience, "we can leave the judgment of the degree of her sin to a merciful God." Those who are familiar with "spiritual counseling" have some idea of what could be implied in the expression "try to motivate her." Despite Fr. Häring's intention to be compassionate, his solution, I submit, is not adequate. The paternalistic

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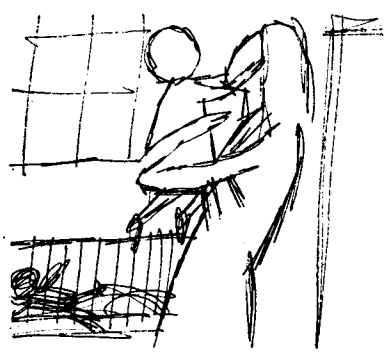
and intimidating atmosphere of "spiritual counseling" is not generally conducive to free and responsible decision-making, and can indeed result in "enforced maternal obligation." The author does not perceive the irony of his argument, which is visible only when one sees the "environment" of the woman's predicament. She lives in a world in which not only the rapist but frequently also the priest view her as an object to be manipulated—in one case physically, and in the other case psychologically. *Machismo* religion, in which only men do spiritual counseling, asks her to endure a double violation, adding the rape of her mind to that of her body. As Mrs. Robinson of the once popular hit song knew: "Any way you look at it, you lose."

Feminist ethics—yet to be developed because women have yet to be free enough to think out their *own* experience—will differ from all of this in that it will refuse



to give attention merely to the isolated physical act involved in abortion, and will insist upon seeing this within its social context. Christian moralists generally have paid attention to context when dealing with such problems as killing in self-defense and in war. They have found it possible to admit the existence of a "just war" within which the concept of "murder" generally does not apply, and have permitted killing in self-defense and in the case of capital punishment. They have allowed to pass unheeded the fact that by social indifference a large proportion of the earth's population is left to die of starvation in childhood. All of these situations are viewed as at least more complex than murder. Yet when the question of abortion is raised, frequently it is only the isolated material act that is brought into focus. The traditional maxim that circumstances affect the morality of an action is all but forgotten or else rendered non-operative through a myopic view of the circumstances. Feminists perceive the fact of exceptional reasoning in the case of abortion as related to the general situation. They ask the obviously significant (but frequently overlooked) question: Just *who* is doing the reasoning and *who* is forced to bear unwanted children?

Feminist ethics, as I envisage it, will see a different and more complex human meaning in the act of abortion. Rather than judging universally in black and white categories of "right" and "wrong" it will be inclined to make graded evaluations of choices in such complex situations as those in which the question of abortion concretely arises. It will attempt to help women to orchestrate the various elements that come into play in the situation, including the needs of the woman as a person, the rights of women as an oppressed class, the requirements of the species in adapting to changing conditions, such as overpopulation, the positive obligations of the woman as the mother of other children or as a professional, the negative aspects of her situation in a society which rewards the production of unwanted children with shame and poverty. It will take into consideration the fact that since the completely safe and adequate means of birth control does not yet exist, women are at the mercy of their reproductive systems.

As I have indicated elsewhere (*Commonweal,* March 12, 1971) the women's movement is bringing into being a new consciousness which is beginning to challenge the symbols and the ethics of patriarchal religion. The transvaluation of values which is beginning to take place affects not only thinking on abortion, but the whole spectrum of moral questions. The ethic emerging from the movement has as its primary emphasis not self-abnegation but self-affirmation in community with others. The kind of suffering that it values is that which is endured in acting to overcome an oppressive situation rather than that which accompanies abject submission to such a situation.

Although repudiation of the passive ethic of authoritarian religion is not new, what is new is the fact that women are giving expression to it, personally, corporately and politically. Those who have been socialized most profoundly to live out the passive ethic are renouncing it and affirming instead a style of human existence that has existential courage as its dominant motif. In challenging the patriarchal authority structure, women are developing in themselves the quality of courage required to face the ambiguities of the human situation. This courage implies taking intellectual and moral risks. It is qualitatively different from the "fortitude" extolled in authoritarian society and epitomized in the attitude of the soldier who faces death in blind obedience to his superior's command. The kind of attitude it inspires is not likely to be appreciated by the military-industrial complex.

At this moment in history the abortion issue has become a focal point for dramatic conflict between the ethic of patriarchal authoritarianism and the ethic of courage to confront ambiguity. When concrete decisions have to be made concerning whether or not to have an abortion, a complex web of circumstances demands consideration. There are no adequate textbook answers. Essentially women are saying that because there is ambiguity surrounding the whole question and

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because sexually hierarchical society is stacked against women, abortion is not appropriately a matter of criminal law. In our society as it is, no laws can cover the situation justly. Abortion "reform" generally works out in a discriminatory way and is not an effective deterrent to illegal abortions. Thousands of women who have felt desperate enough to resort to criminal abortions have been subjected to psychological and physical barbarities, and sometimes these have resulted in death.

At this point it may be appropriate to consider the "pacifist" argument concerning abortion presented by Gordon Zahn ("A Religious Pacifist Looks at Abortion," *Commonweal,* May 28, 1971). In its own way, this article is also illustrative of non-comprehension of women's situation. The response of *Commonweal* readers to it was apparently positive, praising its lucidity and logic. At least this would seem to be indicated by most of the letters that were printed, all of which were from men, with one exception, which was from a nun. However, it is unlikely that many feminists would be impressed. Indeed, the article is particularly enigmatic because Professor Zahn, in addressing his critique to what he imagines to be the women's liberationists' point of view, by his own admission refuses to deal with "the legislative question." This leads to considerable mystification since the issue being raised by the women's movement is precisely *the repeal of anti-abortion laws.* There is not merely one single view of the morality of abortion among feminists. Yet there is an almost universal consensus that it should be removed from criminal law. Pacifists such as Gordon Zahn are free to refuse to defend themselves if physically attacked, but a legal system that would condemn taking the necessary means for self-defense would be inappropriate to the human condition. So also a woman may take a "pacifist" position in regard to an unwanted pregnancy and refuse to have an abortion. However, a woman also might reasonably decide that, in her circumstances, having an abortion would be the better part of valor. Attempting to exclude such decisions by legislation is, I think, unrealistic and inappropriate. It is generally unwise to try to legislate heroism. Feminists point out, moreover, that bringing an unwanted child into the world is even a questionable form of heroism. It would seem particularly unwise to try to enforce through criminal law a species of self-sacrifice whose consequences are dubious at best, and often tragic.

Women—many of them victims also of economic and racial oppression—have just begun to cry out publicly about their rights over their own bodies. That academics find this language unsatisfactory as a complete moral methodology is understandable. Their inability to listen to what is being said, however, is deplorable. Women are making explicit the dimension that traditional morality and abortion legislation simply have not taken into account: the realities of their existence as an oppressed caste of human beings. I think the fact that Professor Zahn just does not hear these voices of experience is indicated by a number of statements. For example, his claim that science has provided sufficient means for avoiding the beginning of the life process is out of touch with the realities of individual situations. His admonition that one should acknowledge the consequences of the sex act is of high moral tone, but it doesn't have much meaning when applied after the fact to the case of an economically and culturally deprived adolescent. As for the "rights of the putative father"—Professor Zahn really should speak to a few young women who would be willing to tell it to him like it is.

As the movement for the repeal of anti-abortion laws gains momentum, we are rapidly moving into a situation in which open war is declared between feminism in this country and official Roman Catholicism. I use the word "official" advisedly, since this position hardly represents the thinking of all Catholics. The anti-feminine discriminations within the church have, of course, been known in a general way by feminists, but these for the most part have seemed irrelevant to their own lives. As this issue surfaces more and more, however, women are seeing the church as their enemy. For its part, the institutional church is focusing its tremendous lobbying power on the issue. As one woman pointed out, it is well organized and has plenty of money to spend.

Women did not arbitrarily choose abortion as part of their platform. It has arisen out of the realities of their situation. On its deepest level, I think the issue is not as different from the issue of birth control as many, particularly liberal Catholics, would make it appear. There are deep questions involved which touch the very meaning of human existence. Are we going to let "nature" take its course or take the decision into our own hands? In the latter case, who will decide? What the women's movement is saying is that decisions will be made affecting the processes of "nature," and that women as individuals will make the decisions in matters most intimately concerning themselves. I think that this, on the deepest level, is what authoritarian religion fears. Surely its greatest fear is not the destruction of life, as its record on other issues reveals.

Declaration of war between the women's movement and the official church should come as no surprise. Yet there are certain deep ironies and tragic conflicts here, for there is widespread spiritual consciousness in the movement. Among its leaders and theoreticians are women who are spiritual expatriates. Having seen through the idolatries and the oppressive bias of patriarchal religion, they have found that their sense of transcendence and creative hopes can be expressed within the movement but not in the institutional churches. For such women the movement functions as "space" set apart—a province primarily of the mind—in which they experience authenticity and freedom. It is the space where they need not go through the mendacious contortions of mind, will and

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imagination demanded of them by sexist society and sexist religion. It is a charismatic community, and its mission is based upon the promise within women themselves, their undeveloped potential. The women's movement is anti-church in the sense of being in conflict with sexist religion *as sexist*. At the same time, it is expressing dimensions of human truth that the institutional churches have failed to incarnate and express.

What can be the role of a living, healing, prophetic church in this situation? I suggest that the work of such a community, wherever that may exist—underground, above-ground, "inside" or "outside" the official church—will not be to cut off the possibility for women to make free and courageous decisions, either by lobbying to prevent the repeal of anti-abortion laws or by psychological manipulation. I think that it will try to *hear* what women are saying and to support their demands for the repeal of unjust laws.

In addition to this, and more importantly, I suggest that a living church will try to point beyond abortion to more fundamental solutions. That is, it will work toward the development of a social context in which the problem of abortion will not arise. As catalyst for social change, it will foster research into more adequate and safer means of birth control. As educative force, it will make available information about the better means now in existence, for example, vasectomy. Most fundamentally, as a prophetic and healing community it will work to eradicate sex-role socialization and the sexual caste system itself, which in many ways works toward the entrapment of women in situations of being burdened with unwanted pregnancies. I think it should be clear that authentic religion will point beyond abortion, not by instilling fear and guilt, but by inspiring the kind of personal, social and technological creativity that can, in the long run, make abortion a non-problem.

THE ECONOMICS OF CHANGE

ROBERT LEKACHMAN

Nixon's opponent must do better than merely echo his policies.

Whether or not 1972 turns out to be as good a year as most forecasters predict, Richard Nixon deserves to lose the election on his demonstrated record of economic management during the first three-quarters of his Administration. In brutal fact, the President and his unmerry men have nearly doubled the rate of unemployment without significantly reducing inflation. Only the strange alchemy of the media could have transmuted August 15's petition in bankruptcy into a personal triumph for Mr. Nixon. The whole affair should have been enough to set the ghost of Herbert Hoover walking across the land.

Yet Richard Nixon never looked stronger to the pollsters and the pundits than at the start of this dreary election year. Their best friends might tell the Democrats that abundantly as Nixon merits defeat, on their present showing it is far less clear that the Democrats deserve victory. Particularly since last August, Congress and the leading presidential hopefuls have floundered. They have grumbled over details, reshuffled tax clauses, rejiggered health and welfare benefits, and, all the while, complained that Democrats had thought of all the new Republican policies first.

George Wallace has a lesson for Democrats. Years ago, after losing an Alabama primary to a still more virulent segregationist, he vowed never to be out-seged again, a promise he has faithfully kept. There is a simple enough analogy to the plight of the Democrats in 1972: national Democratic candidates do not win by sounding like Republicans. American voters are not stupid. If what they want is reduced social programs, greater hardships for the poor and the elderly, lower taxes, and new privileges for the unneedy, then they will prefer almost any Republican to almost any Democrat. Their instinct is sound. Historically, the Republicans are the party of inequality and hardness of heart to the casualties of the market process, and Democrats the party of moderate social change, mild redistribution of income and wealth, and concern over concentrations of private power.

Democrats currently look bad because they have not faced the political as well as the social necessity of threshing out a responsible, progressive economic program as a genuine alternative to policies which threaten further to enlarge existing inequalities of income and wealth. Nor have they even begun the arduous task of demonstrating to blue- and white-collar families just how the existing tax system cheats them and why their true interests are more nearly congruent with those of the black, poor and urban than of the affluent. Finally, because Democats have not grappled with the realities of economic power, they have made no effective anti-trust or corporate control case.

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One of the tragedies of the political season has been the financially enforced withdrawal of Senator Fred Harris from the presidential sweepstakes. In his brief campaign, Harris, and Harris alone, seemed prepared to discuss basic questions of equity, wealth and power. If the country wants coservative economic policies, no Democrat is very likely to beat Richard Nixon. Yet even if Americans are ripe for constructive social change, equity in taxation and regulation of private power, Nixon may still win if his Democratic opponent does no better than echo his policies.

Challenge to the Democrats

I think the country is ripe for change. I think also that a winning Democratic economic program begins with jobs, schools and other public services, and taxes. On unemployment, the beginning of wisdom is the recognition that the problem is structural. Pumping up aggregate demand simply does not employ men and women in bypassed regions like Appalachia and the Ozarks. It does not rectify mismatches between skills required by employers and those possessed by the unemployed. Nor do the fiscal remedies supply the public transportation and low-cost housing whose absence now separates willing workers in inner-city ghettos from suburban jobs. Even if the real growth of the economy in 1972 approximates the 5.5 percent rate the optimists foresee, nobody anticipates that unemployment will drop more than a half percent or so from its current 6 percent level.

The therapy for structural unemployment is expensive. Effective manpower training, no cheap affair in itself, is worse than useless unless jobs await the trainees upon completion of their training. Since the private sector is highly unlikely to absorb any but a small fraction of the unemployed, jobs must be created in the public sector. Trembling with fear of yet another presidential veto, Congress last year threw the unemployed a sop, the 130,000 odd jobs financed by the Emergency Employment Act. Unemployed as measured by the official figures is 5 million. A more realistic figure which included the 2-3 million discouraged men and women who simply gave up the hunt for non-existent jobs would raise measured unemployment to 7 or 8 million—perhaps 8-9 percent of the labor force. A Democrat who proposed a million new public service jobs would be far from reckless.

The jobs must be linked to the real public needs of cities and suburbs alike. The same scandalous starvation of the public sector to which Galbraith so eloquently pointed in his 1959 tract *The Affluent Society* cripples American life in the 1970s. If Democrats cannot make a convincing case for both more public services of better quality and for public service employment to generate the services, then it will be hard for anyone to believe in them as a credible alternative government.

Jobs and services must be paid for. Some of the money ought to come from substantial reductions of the Pentagon budget. The rest must come from the tax system, one good reason why liberal Democrats should stop voting for tax reduction legislation. The fair way to get the money is *not* through disguised sales taxes like the Value Added Tax, much less through an increase of the tax burdens of low- and moderate-income families. Genuine tax reform is an urgent necessity because American taxes are now intolerably unfair. At the extremes the system is regressive, taking larger percentages of the incomes of poor people below the poverty line than of the fortunate few whose incomes top the $100,000 mark. Over the vast middle range of incomes, taxation is at best proportional. Tax loopholes ought to be closed. The effective rates on large incomes should be raised. Something ought to be done to tax large estates. Why should a man be governor of New York because his grandfather cornered the market in oil?

The politician who grasps the nettle of income redistribution and the redistributive taxation which facilitates it, will be rewarded with the fiscal resources to pursue a great many social objectives. Money for schools, environmental protection, housing, public transportation and other good things will be available.

The final component of my Democratic program focuses upon the large corporation, the key economic institution of our day. Major corporations exercise a species of sovereignty over the lives and fortunes of their employees and the communities in which they deign to operate. If their operations are international, their opportunities for financial blackmail are all the greater. Sensible liberal strategy is two-pronged. When a large corporation demonstrates no special efficiency, the case is strong for breaking it up. Many conglomerates, organized largely to enrich their promoters, are ripe candidates for old-fashioned trust-busting. The reasonably efficient large corporations must be closely supervised in the interests of product quality, work safety, and environmental preservation. Perhaps, as a number of writers have suggested, large corporations should be required to incorporate federally. Private sovereignty, typically politically irresponsible, must be controlled by public authority. The effort will require legislation, equal application to large corporations of tax laws, and intelligence and dedication on the part of the regulatory agencies, plus all the help that Ralph Nader can give

What I have sketched is a minimum but genuine Democratic alternative, an emphasis which is responsive to the concerns of ecologists, urbanists, partisans of tax equity and ordinary men and women worried about jobs, schools, housing taxes, poverty and the state of their communities. Indeed, if they are sensible, enlightened businessmen will support suggestions like these because they are just the sort of thing required to make American market capitalism tolerable to a constituency wider than the capitalists themselves.

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THE SCREEN

While I was praising *Minnie and Moskowitz* in this column last week, I might also have mentionted Claude Chabrol's new film, *Le Boucher*. (It's not actually new, having been made several years ago, though it is just now being released in this country.) Like Cassavetes, Chabrol is building a little repertory company around his own wife. She is Stephane Audran, and in Chabrol's next to last film, *La Femme Infidèle,* she played the title role. In this film she is cast as a schoolmistress in love with *le boucher,* the butcher, in a southern French village. The title role this time is played by Jean Yanne, who was the boorish garage owner in Chabrol's last film, *This Man Must Die*. Moreover, Chabrol is taken with some of the same themes that dominate Cassavetes' work. Chabrol also treats the *bourgeoisie* and *petite bourgeoisie* with affection. Yet like Cassavetes Chabrol has an acute —in his case, even exaggerated—sense of the violence and paranoia that stir just beneath the surface of middle-class life.

Unlike Cassavetes, however, Chabrol is wary of impromptu situations in art and perhaps life as well. The qualities for which I praised Cassavetes—spontaneity, improvisation, etc.—seem almost totally absent from Chabrol's direction. He is a meticulous craftsman who maps out each shot and executes it with care. His camera moves constantly, but never with aggravation or nervousness: it is always poised and supple. A favorite camera motion of his is to circle slowly either toward or away from his principals, and zoom in on them slowly at the same time. He used this shot at the end of *La Femme Infidèle*, for instance, when Charles Desvallees (Michael Bouquet), having murdered his wife's lover, is led away by the police. As Desvallees departs, the camera travels with him while the zoom brings his wife and son, who finally understand how much he loves them, closer again.

Chabrol has used this shot in *Le Boucher* as well. The schoolmistress, Mlle. Hélène, has just explained to the butcher, Paul, that she leads a solitary life because of an unhappy love affair ten years ago. She still doesn't want to get involved with anyone, and she has told Paul her story in order to keep him from kissing her. But in the next moment she softens and encourages his pursuit by giving him a gift, a cigarette lighter. As she speaks the camera moves around passing behind a tree, and then both dollying and zooming toward the couple. If camera movements had names, like ballet steps or the passes made in fencing, this characteristic Chabrol gesture would be called the *rapprochement*. In both the scenes just described, *rapprochement* is what this camera movement signals. Like the emotion, the camera gesture is an exquisite Chabrol touch—circumspect yet purposeful, optically ambiguous yet fluid and precise.

Cassavetes is definitely the wrong analogy for a shot such as this, though at times one might long for a bit of Cassavetes' groping, rambunctious style in the middle of a Chabrol film. For Chabrol is capable of over-designing a film. Sometimes he cannot resist little bits of business that are unique, but still conventional, or even derivative, nonetheless. A better analogy for Chabrol is Hitchcock, who is an obvious influence on him. In the middle of *Le Boucher* Hélène takes her class on a field trip to some caves. A young woman has been murdered nearby recently, but no one is thinking of that when the children settle down to a picnic on a hillside. Then as a little girl begins to eat, blood from a fresh murder committed on the rocks above drips onto her piece of bread.

What bothers me is not how like Hitchcock this unholy communion is. (Chabrol has also had an odd and perverse reaction to Catholicism.) But later on Chabrol puts this image of dripping to a tritely Hitchockesque use. Climbing up to discover the body, Hélène also discovers a cigarette lighter that could be the one she gave Paul. She conceals it from the police, however, and hides it in a drawer full of rags in her apartment. Later Paul is painting her apartment for her one night, and some paint drip-drip-drips onto the rug. At once we know that, in his search for a rag, Paul will find his way to that drawer and the lighter. Nor is this all that is disclosed by this omen. The painting accident, too guilefully committed on purpose by Chabrol, telegraphs not only the rest of the scene, but the rest of the film. It gives us unwarranted and unwanted advice on problems about which we should not make up our minds until Hélène can make up hers.

Compare this moment to the one in Hitchcock's *Psycho* —another movie about a psychotic knifer of women— when Anthony Perkins comes to clean up after his "mother," as we think, has stabbed Janet Leigh. As he enters the motel room he accidently knocks a picture off the wall, thus reminding us that he himself earlier removed such a picture from the wall next door in order to peep at Miss Leigh while she undressed. In this scene, as in the one Chabrol has concocted, the *frisson* is gratuitous. At worst it intrudes on the emotional relationship between the characters. At best it is a cheap thrill because it is thrown in just for the hell of it.

Watching a Chabrol film can thus be like reading a really fine writer in some glossy and fashionable magazine. We know that what he has to say is important and serious, but we are made uneasy at times by the format in which he has chosen to say it. Nevertheless, whether it is Hitchcock grotesque or not, that piece of bread with blood on it is a delectably apt Chabrol image. Chabrol seems to find eating the most significant of human experiences. As early as *Leda,* which he made in 1959, he began filling his films with eating scenes. In *This Man Must Die* he put us out of sympathy with the character

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whom Yanne played by portraying him as someone who throws food in order to outrage and intimidate others. *Le Boucher* is also marked by scenes of eating or cooking. It begins with a wedding feast at which Paul, who is one of the guests, carves the roast. Finding it purple to the edges, the way the French love it, he pronounces it perfect. (Later he will advise Hélène to roast a two-pound leg of lamb not more than thirty minutes!) Paul's profession is clearly an embodiment of this motif in Chabrol's work as well.

The combination of bestiality and civility that eating represents is what amuses Chabrol so much. He finds the French a funny people: they hardly cook their food, as if they were savages who had not yet discovered fire, but they turn cooking into an art and make eating the refinement of a high civilization. In *Le Boucher* Chabrol serves us raw meat in three or four different courses, some of them human. The proof of his own art as a filmmaker is that he manages to make such fare not only digestible, but delicious.

COLIN L. WESTERBECK, JR.

THE STUDENT PROTEST MOVEMENT: HISTORY OR PRELUDE?

JOSEPH L. WALSH

THE MEDIA continue to assure us that the student protest movement of the '60s hasn't made it into the '70s. But even if this campaign contains as much wishful fancy as it does fact, the debate over the movement's impact and significance is real enough and merits continued attention. What we find emerging from a number of recent books are some signs admittedly precarious of a possible alternative vision of education and politics.

For Jurgen Habermas, a German sociologist of the Frankfurt school of critical theory, the student protest movement of the 1960's bared the fundamental contradiction of industrialized society—its inability to offer its members rational goals for their participation. In a small book of topical essays (*Toward a Rational Society: Student Protest, Science and Politics,* Jeremy J. Shapiro Jr., Beacon Press, $5.95, 1970) Habermas says that there have been three distinct phases in human societies: traditional society where social sanctions were seen as part of a cosmic or divine order; bourgeois society, where the social order was based on an ideal of freedom in which the individual believed he was, or could be, master of his fate; and now technocratic society whose claims are based only on its ability to produce and distribute an enormous surplus of goods designed for convenience and amusement. It was the strength of bourgeois society that with its ideal of freedom it was able to hold out to its members the existence of an area of life beyond production, the service of which was the society's ultimate goal and higher purpose. Marx showed that, given the economic organization of bourgeois society, that ideal was necessarily illusory, at least for the majority of men. But nonetheless bourgeois society, by preserving at least ideologically the distinction between the political and the economic, between the ideal of freedom and the existing social organization, offered Marx a framework to which he could appeal and in which he could be heard.

In today's technocratic society, which Habermas, like Marcuse, believes is found in both the Soviet Union and in the West, even the framework for pointing beyond that society's productive forces has been swallowed up. The purpose of politics is now seen as the elimination of kinks and hindrances from the smooth operation of the system; science and rationality are seen only as the system's handmaiden.

In Habermas' view, the student movement has forced into the public forum questions about goals and purposes for which the technocratic political machine has no place. For Habermas, the technocratic society not only excludes from the realm of public discourse questions for which it has no answers, but, even more, eliminates the concept of public discourse entirely, i.e., areas of decision-making in which the citizen, as distinct from the official and expert, has competence and clout.

According to Habermas, the true uniqueness of the student movement lies in its re-establishment of the possibility of public discourse on questions of immense political import for the lives of persons in society, questions previously thought to be only private. As he says, "difficulties that a mere two or three years ago would have passed for private matters—for conflicts between students and teachers, workers and employers, or marital partners, for conflicts between individual persons—now claim political significance and ask to be justified in political concepts."

It is exactly this trend of "politicizing" everything which many people condemn. But the student movement and its various progeny have so forcefully told us that a competitive, status-oriented, acquisitive and upward striving culture determines to a great extent the shape and content of personal rela-

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tions and conflicts in that society. Acquiescence in the existence of such a culture, then, is at root a political act of the greatest consequence.

The student movement's preoccupation with the university's faults is a serious mistake, according to many even sympathetic observers, because the evils it condemns have little to do with the university as such. They claim that the students have made the university their target because it was close at hand and a ready surrogate for the larger society.

Habermas rejects this criticism. He claims that the university is precisely where the culture implants its values in their most naked form. With the passing of bourgeois society and its ideal of the free market—of labor as well as goods—the university and its attendant rating systems have become the primary mechanism through which the technocratic system selects its prospective skilled laborers, trains them in its values and its techniques, and prepares them for the role of consumers as well as producers of that continual product-flow which is the system's mainstream.

Habermas sees the attack on the technocratic system in the univerities therefore not only aimed at its heart, but also, in his judgment, so well-aimed and powerful as to be able to permanently destroy the achievement-status ideology on which the system rests, and thus be able to "bring down the already fragile legitimating basis of advanced industrial capitalism." To this highly debatable conclusion we shall presently return—after first considering its considerably more spectacular and exotic statement in the work of Charles Reich.

The essays in Habermas' book were written, for the most part, before the flowering of the counter-culture and the emergence of what Reich has dubbed Consciousness III in his widely discussed, *The Greening of America.* Philip Nobile has now edited a lively collection of responses and reactions to Reich's book entitled *The Con III Controversy: The Critics Look at the Greening of America* (Pocket Books, New York, 1971), composed of already published reviews of *Greening,* with a few original pieces added. Like *Greening* itself Nobile's stimulating book fastens on the implications of the fantastic cultural efflorescence of recent years. In one of the articles written especially for the *Con III Controversy,* Linda Forest argues that Consciousness III's new sensuousness still envisages pleasure and warmth between men and women in a decidedly old-consciousness way, in genital sex terms only. The sexual liberation of recent years has yet to make it generally possible for women and men to contemplate a truly affectionate relationship without the bedroom door being the background against which it is invariably enacted.

Common to most of the objections to Reich's thesis is the question of whether Consciousness III is widely enough shared to truly change the corporate-technocratic society of Consciousness II; and whether it possesses the acumen to deal with the political realities such a transformation will inevitably entail. Critics as far apart on the spectrum as Herbert Marcuse and Nathan Glazer raise this point; but it is perhaps most forcefully stated in an article by Peter and Brigette Berger in *The New Republic* (April 3, 1971), arguing that whatever may be the attractiveness of Consciousness III and its appeal to young, middle-class affluents, there is no reason for thinking that it can subvert the corporate system. On the contrary, if the possessors of Consciousness III continue to opt out of the competitive, status-oriented rat-race, their places will be quickly and easily filled by the children of the blue-collars.

The caution that the Bergers enter here is worth some consideration. Social systems invariably have produced deviants without thereby destroying themselves. It is not too difficult to imagine Consciousness III dropouts in communes and university-city fringes filling the same role—even including the exercise of certain useful crafts and trades —that gypsies or other deviants performed in similar fashion in other times and places. A change-oriented culture like ours must learn to discuss significant social changes without immediately reverting to the term "revolution."

In the long run, however, the counter-culture thesis of Habermas and Reich raises a set of questions which cannot be dealt with by a simple nose count or by the Bergers' deft deflection of the question. Conservative religious social critics like Berger and Andrew Greeley are adept at pointing out the sectarian and pseudo-messianic elements in movements like the counter-culture. But characteristically they tend to ignore the question of whether historical forces are at work within the society seeking to break the bonds of previous development and rise dialectically to a further stage. Here the Marxist orientation of Habermas is more helpful. He takes account of the objection that the protesting students are too marginal an element in the society to bring about significant institutional change. But he asks whether the appearance of these elements is not really a manifestation of a deeper instability in a social system which alienates those of its members who should be its chosen leaders and which finds inadequate rewards for those on whom it places its severest demands. Habermas and Reich suggest that there is a deep and structural instability in technocratic society caused by a new social order seeking to be born, a social order based on a more rational allocation of the material and psychic resources of the society, but still struggling in the womb of a society ruled by the instincts of accumulation and survival of an earlier time. In seek- to locate these historic, as distinct from short-range factors only, they show themselves superior to many of their critics.

Nonetheless it is possible to ask whether Habermas, Reich and others have grasped the deepest and most important potentialities of the movement they describe. For both of them, its significance lies primarily in the realm of consciousness—the emergence of new values placed upon material abundance and human relations. This acceptance of the new consciousness as necessarily

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and inevitably revolutionary results, however, in a failure to analyze critically the economic and structural bases of that consciousness. Furthermore it fails to seek out in the protest movement those elements that could lead it beyond alienation and beyond its stance of prophetic opposition to genuine, non-utopian alternative structures. In Reich's *Greening,* for instance, there is no recognition of the fact the Consciousness III's disdain for "materialism" itself depends on the continued unequal distribution of the world's resources. As Emile Capouya puts it in the Nobile collection, "the plain living and high thinking of Reich's program" requires that working people, not to speak of third-world peasants, be good enough "to supply their betters with leisure, education, books, tape recorders and hand-held cameras."

But not only does the privileged social status of the new consciousness tend to go unexamined in Reich and Habermas, so also does its failure to deal with work, that most omnipresent of all human realities in the lives of the mass of men, and as much if not more of a necessity in complex technological societies than in any others.

Probing Society

With this question in mind, it is useful to turn to another recent publication, Michael Miles' *The Radical Probe, the Logic of the Student Rebellion* (Atheneum, $7.95, 1971). Miles does not find the meaning of the student rebellion in the creation of an already revolutionary consciousness. As the title implies, the meaning of the protest movement for Miles lies in its probe of the strength of the technocratic society; in its exposure of the system's vulnerability to a revolutionary movement that will, one hopes, mature out of the colleges and universities and into the work-a-day world of offices and laboratories and automated plants and factories. For him, it is the adult university graduate become a militant member of a new working class that reveals where the logic of the protests of the last decade has been heading.

Miles links the American student rebellions with the support given the May, 1968, uprising in France by the university-trained technicians and bureaucrats in key industries. He suggests that the confrontation of the technocratic system in its university instrumentality is best seen as a proving-ground test for a later confrontation with the system in its corporate and governmental structures. Besides giving one of the best summary analyses of the events of the American student rebellion, Miles is unique in stressing the importance of the question of work in any genuinely revolutionary discussion. So long as advocates of total change concentrate on organizing people around issues outside the corporation-occupational structures of the society, they will not be dealing with generated root causes of those tensions. Alternative structures to the present system, such as living communes, day-care centers, free schools, etc., are important in giving flesh to a vision of what could be. They also can make life meaningful for those who totally drop-out of the system and somewhat less difficult and more bearable for those who stay in. But the workers in the corporative-industrial-educational complex—which will always include the vast majority of us—must take charge of the whole of our lives, including job security, retirement, achievement pressures, etc., and especially the working conditions that make escapism of whatever exotic degree, inevitable. Until then there can be no serious possibility of a real transformation in the quality of human life here, i.e., revolution. It is the great merit of Miles' book to bring this point to our attention just at a time when the growing extension of governmental control of the country's economy makes clear that a political (and truly democratic) control is possible over just those areas of life which have hitherto dominated us and seemed to be impervious to our own control.

Miles, like Habermas, stresses the centrality of the university as object of the student protest, showing how the corporate style of private gain over public concern has come to dominate so much of academic life under the ideology of truth for its own sake. But, as is true with most political radicals, Miles' discussion of the university concentrates on the institutional aspects of university structures in relation to the larger society. For the most part he ignores the classroom, still the central educational experience for people in school. If the student movement is to be more than protest, and is to issue in the kind of adult militancy that Miles envisions, then it becomes important to find ways to make the students' university educational experience contribute as positively to that development.

Here Judson Jerome's *Culture Out of Anarchy, The Reconstruction of American Higher Learning* (Herder and Herder, $9.50, 1970) merits attention. Jerome's book is descriptive and prescriptive both, and as a published poet and novelist he brings to his description of six experiments in higher education —Bensalem, Old Westbury, Friends' World College, Rochdale, College of the Potomac, and his own Antioch— a flair for describing the zany and the poignant sides of life among young Americans that one rarely finds in treatises on the current education "crisis."

Jerome's book is calculated to raise anger in most of the people responsible for running and teaching in colleges today, and even among many of those who feel responsible for changing them. The reason is that Jerome takes seriously the Summerhill alternative for higher education. He plays out the whole libertarian string in his own thinking, recording the anguish of his own evolution from being a serious well-trained scholar wrestling with what seemed to be the alternative of culture and anarchy, into one who now finds it "exceedingly difficult to be sure that I rather than they (the students) know what constitutes valid education."

For Jerome, however, it is precisely in trying to decide who is and who is not "educated" that he locates the critical problem in American higher education. As Jerome sees it, the current system of courses and credits imposed on a student impersonally, depending only on his rank of major, etc., inevitably teaches students more about "faking it"

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than about anything else. How to juggle the assignments in four or five courses more or less acceptably for four years, thus proving that they are ready to take responsible jobs in various forms of industry or to go to graduate school to train others—this, Jerome says, is the real and hidden curriculum of American higher education. He sees the student movement for educational reform as the attempt to break this dominant pattern. He sees students trying to find or create places where they, their teachers and administrators would fashion an environment (*including* books) to make sense out of the welter of ideas, impressions, problems, fears, sensations and hopes that every adolescent in America already brings to college with him the day he arrives.

For Jerome, as long as educators take as their primary responsibility the certifying of students as disciplined, assignment-filling, potential employees there is no way to respond to students' real needs and possibilities because they are uncritically laying on a hidden curriculum which teaches students how to fit into the technocratic system as it is. Jerome calls on educators to stop feeling compelled to say who is or who is not educated (stamped, certified, i.e., responsible).

On the other hand, Jerome does not seek to do away with standards and accountability. The burden for performance, however, should be on the institution, the faculty and the administrators, he says, not as it now almost totally is on the students alone. Jerome calls for a meaningful accreditation system in which agencies made up of faculty and administrative peers would rate institutions on the goals they set for themselves. He argues that in this system, a degree would simply mean that a given student had spent four or more years at a given institution, judged by its peers to be accredited. The student's file would then be a brief description of what he would want included, the kinds of projects he undertook, for how long and with whom. No pluses or minuses, no highers or lowers, no passes or failures. Just a record that the student was there, for however long, at this college judged by its peers as a place where responsive education takes place. No one asks people who go to a museum or a symphony or a library for a record of how high their appreciation score is. Jerome argues that if anyone came to him with proof that he had spent four years in the Metropolitan Museum of Art or listening to the Boston Symphony Orchestra, he would presume a priori that the person knew a lot about art or music. Why not the same for colleges, he asks?

There are problems of course with these imaginative suggestions of Jerome's. In his own description of different educational experiences, he makes it clear that many students today, broken or harried by the pressures of home and society, come to experimental colleges with little interest in any kind of education. Often, even in their best moments, they want only havens of enjoyment and pleasure and little work of any kind. Some way would have to be found in Jerome's scheme to make sure that, if these students were not totally eliminated from his utopia, they would have to be kept in a small enough minority so as not to demoralize the faculty and students trying to make the system work.

Challenge and Duty

Even many of the best motivated students, however, probably need more than the open-ended permissiveness Jerome advocates. Challenge and the measuring up to some sense of duty and responsibility to others would in some way seem to be a necessary part of any true education. In his own description of Bensalem, Fordham's inner experimental college, Jerome gives some idea of how this could be accomplished without perpetuating the hidden curriculum he so well describes. He tells of how the students at Bensalem broke out of their own narcissistic search for true community and instant nirvana by creating with their faculty a pre-school for the youngters in the immediate neighborhood. Here, in struggling to meet the needs of the children and their parents in their own community, the students of Bensalem, previously wallowing in the inertia of their own totally non-demanding environment, created a common task in which their education, in psychology, sociology, politics, etc., became meaningful and exciting.

We have here, it seems to me, lessons that have wide potential applicability in American higher education and its relation to society's need as a whole. A useful sketch of some of those potentialities can be found in William Arrowsmith's article, "The Idea of a New University" (*The Center Magazine*, March-April, 1970), in my judgment a stimulating projection which deserves much wider discussion.

Arrowsmith proposes a university of the public interest in which faculty and students take as the focus of their joint work the needs of the public, adequately considered. Arrowsmith sharply distinguishes the public interest from the national or social interest as determined by government or other social institutions at any given time. He argues that our society is marked by a peculiarly modern chaos in which the whole or the public interest is nobody's business and in which each part, including the university and government, seeks primarily its own ends—"a conglomerate world whose disorder is exposed by the design-perfection of the parts and their utter unrelatedness."

Arrowsmith would have the university, faculty and students, find their own unity of purpose and common vision in their mutual dedication to this notion of the public interest at present conceived and adequately served by no one else in the society. He envisions medical schools whose primary focus would be public health in the surrounding communities with teachers as practitioners sharing with their student colleagues, at work on the common health problems, their knowledge and their dedication. He sees journalism schools with faculty and students publishing newspapers of the kind that their local communities desperately need for informed opinion. So, too, with television, social work and other schools and departments. Law schools, for instance, with their own versions of Nader's

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Raiders, faculty and students at work on common legal problems, the people's problems, absorbed as doers and learners in the common task.

Arrowsmith limits his recommendations mostly to the professional level, but there is no reason why it could not be expanded into the humanities and sciences as well. Why not a professor teaching Shakespeare to the local community people with his students as joint participants in the problems and joys connected with serving that community need? And biologists and physicists and historians, too?

This vision is not for everyone of course, professor or student, nor could it probably be the whole of one's education. But neither is it, as many would no doubt argue, an abandonment of the university's noblest ideal, the pursuit of truth for its own sake. Arrowsmith, a trained classical scholar of high repute, takes account of the objection that he could be accused of excessive pragmatism and disdain for scholarship and culture. He argues that the time has come to face the fact that the arts do not automatically humanize and that, in fact, do humanize only if learning finds integration in action and conduct. The wardens of Buchenwald and Belsen loved their Mozart and Beethoven and read their Schiller and their Goethe, he argues. It is necessary therefore that students must learn responsible moral doing and they can do so by seeing knowledge responsibly exercised, and learning how to do the same from the men who call themselves their teachers.

It should be clear how a widespread extension of Arrowsmith's ideas to American higher education would be a powerful response to the pressures and criticisms already discussed by Jerome and others. Education would then be the apprenticing of students in responsible social and personal behavior. There is of course no way for grading that goal beyond recognizing its sincere attempt. Even more, Arrowsmith's projection shows how such education would lead students further in the direction Miles believes to be the true logic of the student movement. Work, not a four-year or more personal and social moratorium, would now become the focus of education. Not unthinking work, however, but work for humane purposes reflected on and interpreted through study which, until now, generally has been seen only as a preparation for the future, not its beginning. An education of this kind could well develop the new working class Miles envisages as being able really to take control of their lives. Taught to question and analyze the meaning and impact of their work from their college-days on, we might just be able to create a generation in whom the moral passion of its youth finds its incarnation in the work of its maturity. That would be an education worth working for.

EUGENE J. SMITH

THOROUGHBREDS

In the pastured summers of my youth,
Those yearling-green days when loose colts
Shock the dawn-drenched fields, resonant with reveille,
I remember the lunging colts, arcing circles,
Leather taut with protest.
And in the mist, solitary stallions pawed while
Cloistered fillies drank grass in distant convents.

In a confounded sequence, seasons ago,
They rushed past, bolting far beyond the salvias
Still chased by my outrider memory.
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Locked in certain positions of time and place and race.
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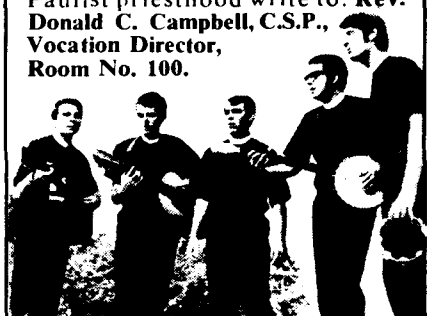

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BOOKS

'Sleazo inputs' and psychedelic madness

The Family: The Story of Charles Manson's Dune Buggy Attack Battalion

ED SANDERS

Dutton, $6.95

PHIL TRACY

One morning, near the end of Charles Manson's trial for the Tate-LaBianca murders, one member of a commune I was staying with at the time turned and said to me, "If Charlie Manson didn't exist the straights would have invented him." Shortly thereafter, in an interview with *Rolling Stone*, Manson told a reporter, "I am whatever you see. Whatever I am you have created me." Both statements, in their separate ways, address the question of the origins of evil in this age of psychedelic madness. In its own peculiar way, so does Ed Sanders' book *The Family*.

Beyond the ludicrous assumption that all evil in our country is directly attributable to the "straights" or our involvement in Vietnam, there has in fact been very little discussion as to how a group like Manson's could come to be. Certainly not through drugs alone. If everyone who dropped acid regularly was into killing people, the country would already be awash in a sea of blood. Granted acid is a kinetic agent in the Manson experience, breaking down traditional taboos and scrambling acquired value systems. Also granted, Manson chose his family carefully, using time-proven techniques from his little-known career as an L.A. pimp in the mid-'50s; spotting the weak and insecure, those most receptive to his messianic message. But that doesn't explain the active ingredient. Why the slaughter, why the blood path with so many trips to choose from in wicky-wacky California?

In an effort to answer that question Sanders spent more than a year and a half trying to trace the life of Manson's family as they ricochet back and forth across the golden state of California for close to three years. The result is a montage of facts, some relevant, some obscure and most completely confusing.

Perhaps the single most important ingredient Sanders has come up with is what he calls "sleazo inputs": the various pain and death cults that were floating around Los Angeles at the same time as the Manson family. Sanders lists three of these groups and describes in some detail their various rituals and apocalyptic visions of slaughter. Sanders contends (and documents) that the family did not dwell in a vacuum during its wanderings around the state but had contact and was influenced by at least two and perhaps all three groups. The "sleazo inputs" all shared end-of-the-world visions, messiah figures and demanded slave-like obedience. In one case, Sanders hints the groups may also have been practicing ritualistic killing.

But he is never able to make direct connections between the "inputs" and the family. In this sense *The Family* is a simulation of the pulverized, bewildering L.A. experience. Events appear as isolated incidents without the necessary linkage to place them in perspective. A meeting here, a happening there, with nothing concrete to connect them. You could write it off to sloppy research but few people have invested the time and energy Sanders has to come up with his story. It's not the reporter who confuses you, its the reality he writes about.

Even so, in his opening chapter Sanders confesses that during his investigation "I became a data addict," and unfortunately his addiction carries over into the book. Sanders' tendency to throw every piece of information he's collected into the narrative (including what seems at times half a million aliases) only further beclouds an already hopelessly confused reality. It's as if the author, caught in the web of the L.A. experience, could no longer distinguish between the significant and the extraneous. The result is such a confusing welter of detail that one is left at the end of the book unsure exactly who in the family committed what murders or whether they were ever convicted for them.

Despite its marred presentation, *The Family* is a book that has no trouble holding a reader's attention. Its documented chronology of the Manson family's wanderings is a guide to the California underworld of drugs, sex, madness and pain. Sanders' sometimes brilliant, sometimes ponderous style of narrative guides you back and forth between the various centers of hip insanity. A data king with knitting needles, he tries to connect the elements together into some discernible pattern.

Ultimately, he fails. One is left with three questions for every answer. Sanders *has* managed to rip apart the myth that Manson was an isolated nut, the family a collection of deranged morons and the Tate-LaBianca murders a singular happenstance. He has pierced the underside of hipdom and found it as gory as its counterpart in the straight society.

Who's Who in the Old Testament, Together with the Apocrypha

JOAN COMAY

Holt, Rinehart & Winston, $14.95

Who's Who in the New Testament

RONALD BROWNRIGG

Holt, Rinehart & Winston, $14.95

GERARD S. SLOYAN

Joan Comay, who is identified as a South African Israeli married to Israel's ambassador to England, has written the text of a dictionary of names from the Hebrew Scriptures identical in format with the New Testament volume reviewed below. Somehow Elaine Varady, who is credited by both authors with

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having found appropriate artistic illustrations, seems to have served Mrs. Comay less well. Individual sculptures and artefacts are carefully reproduced but the panoramas and archaeological sites seem muddy and unsatisfactory. Two outstanding exceptions are color aerial photos of the Valley of Jezreel in all its agricultural splendor and a portion of the Sinai range. The text confines itself to identifications and a retelling of the biblical story based on the Revised Standard Version.

The Brownrigg book is a splendid book of pictures and is to be recommended for that reason. The text (of which there is quite a lot) is not nearly so good. The Anglican priest-author is described as having seen extensive military service in the Middle East. The result of the collaboration he has had from numerous scholars and picture archivists is a remarkable collection of photo-reproductions of manuscripts, ikons, frescoes, paintings, tapestries, and statues from every age and corner of Christendom. To these are added good quality black-and-white maps of Palestine and the Mediterranean world and a profusion of photographs of archaeological sites, artefacts, and landscapes, equally good. There are aerial shots of breathtaking beauty of Masada, the Herodium (Herod's palace-tomb, wherever he may lie), Bethlehem, and Bethany. Anyone familiar with the Old City of Jerusalem will be surprised by its order and symmetry from the air and will conclude that this has to be a photographer's trick. One of the best illustrations, surely, is a full-page color shot of the Via Egnatia, the old Roman road between Neapolis (now Kavalla) and Philippi. Featured several times in the book is the ingenious reproduction of first-century Jerusalem, the size of a large miniature-golf course, to be found at the Holy Land Hotel, West Jerusalem, but nowhere identified as such. In general, the picture captions are less precise than the text. Thus, we are shown "Paul's prison at Philippi" when a caution about the guesswork that underlies such an attribution is in order. Similarly, John the Divine's viewing Pergamum from Patmos (p. 242) is a feat that would require all his visionary powers.

The text is more or less dependable in scholarly matters where "more or less" does not count. The author consistently favors external witness to a biblical book or passage over internal. He seems to have heard of numerous conclusions of the critical method but they strike him as too uncertain to credit. There is even provided a plotting of Jesus' journeys, a hardy venture for 1971.

The volumes are 450 pages in length and were handsomely produced in Italy. They are far better than anything we might have expected of books of these titles and far short of absolute dependability in the matters of which they treat. Their chief virtue, which is visual, is clouded over by the absence of an index to the pictures, for one can see oneself wishing to consult them again and again.

If this notice seems to consist of praising with faint damns it is probably because the volumes have special merit for a large readership with which the reviewer is not closely acquainted: the users of school and city libraries, members of "cultured" families, and the pious (or curious) of means. They are not fundamentalist in tone and are fated to educate much more than to lead astray. They are therefore to be recommended. Students and scholars will be grateful for the pictorial record, finding the inclusion of many "old masters" a matter of taste, whereas devotees of the fine arts will experience the difficulty in reverse.

CORRESPONDENCE

(Continued from page 411)

the likelihood that such a false impression could be created among the audience to whom the summary was directed; second, as to my intentions, and those of my staff, in compiling the summary.

The document was prepared for and sent to editors, news directors, reporters, and other professionals in the communications field. If Mr. Zahn believes that a brief summary of this sort is going to be taken by professional newsmen as a total record of the American hierarchy's position on Vietnam, he has a far lower opinion of the intelligence of American journalists than I do. If he believes that I believe such a document could somehow con the audience for which it was intended, he is drastically overestimating my own naivetè.

This leads to the question of intention. If we weren't trying to practice deception (as we were not, and as the audience to whom the document was sent realized we were not), what were we trying to do?

The answer is that, at the time the document was compiled and distributed, a different kind of myth entirely was beginning to creep up here and there in the media: namely, that the U.S. bishops, with a handful of exceptions, had never taken any position on the war except one of explicit or implicit support. Thus I and my staff felt it to be reasonable and appropriate to put together, in summary fashion, the other part of the record. I still regard this as a reasonable and appropriate thing to do. Different people will have different opinions as to what the total

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1972 Schedule

FEB. 11-13—"The Arica-Sufi Method of Inner-Growth" (Oscar Ichazo)
FEB. 18-20—John Lilly—"Getting Into the Cyclone"
FEB. 25-27—G. Roth and B. Dickman—"Theater Games and Body Movement"
MAR. 10-12—Dan Sullivan—"Open Gestalt Workshop"
MAR. 24-26—Gabriel Roth—"The Dance and Body Awareness"
APR. 1—Frank Rubenfeld—"Gestalt Workshop for Professionals"
APR. 14-16 — Hector Praestera — Bio-energetics and Fantasy Trips"
APR. 28-30—Dan Sullivan—"Liberation from Sex Roles"
MAY 6-7—Iliana Rubenfeld—"Integrating Gestalt therapy and Alexander Technique"
JUN. 2-4—Dan Sullivan—"Open Gestalt Workshop"—for couples
JUN. 9-11—Frank Rubenfeld—"Open Gestalt Workshop"

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The '72 Campaign

One way to scrutinize the prospects for November is to size up the chances of each presidential candidate. Another is to focus on what is basically at stake, as in recent issues of Commonweal. *For example:*

Thomas M. Conrad (Oct. 1, 1971): "It takes at least two parties to maintain a consistent, persisting pattern of deception—the liar and the more-or-less willing dupe. . . . . The image of the public which underlies the usual debate on secrecy and official lying is that of a passive mass of *spectators*, consumers of the media, whose rights as spectators are being violated: it is unfashionably radical to dwell upon the really important scandal of dictatorial government actions and attitudes."

Michael Harrington (Nov. 26, 1971): "I am completely in sympathy with the labor critique of the Kennedy-Johnson guidelines: that they assumed the essential fairness of the existing class structure and proposed that millionaires and factory workers should demonstrate the same restraint in bettering their living standards. Indeed one of the reasons that incomes policies are opposed by many trade unionists all around the world is that when they have been adopted they have tended to exact much more sacrifice from the mass of working people than from the corporate rich. That, however, need not be, particularly if one can assume the existence of a politically aware and militant labor movement . . . . an opportunity for initiating a positive incomes policy which will attack the scandal of maldistributed wealth in America."

Wes Barthelmes (Jan. 21, 1972): Each contender in the grand competition for the presidency should be asked what his attitude would be if he found himself in the White House. Would he continue to exercise unchecked presidential discretion over public spending? Would he continue to order our military forces into action and, in opposition to congressional intent, keep them there? Probing further, there are questions to be asked about the infringement of rights of private citizens by government surveillance . . . and the consistent refusal of Presidents to provide the Congress with information about long-range foreign military-assistance plans. . . . We need not heroics in our next President, but simply the competent toil of an accessible, fair-dealing, plainspeaking President willing to share his burdens—and glory—with the Congress and the people.

Robert Lekachman (see page 419 of this issue)

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record shows, and Mr. Zahn is entitled to his. But I see no reason to apologize for attempting to make a contribution to understanding this record. It also occurs to me that those who complain that bishops have not exercised moral leadership on Vietnam are not exactly helping the cause by objecting when someone else attempts to enumerate occasions on which bishops have in fact questioned or condemned the war on moral grounds.

Finally, I must express surprise that Mr. Zahn felt he could only speculate as to my intentions and those of my office in compiling the document which occasioned his article. I have a telephone and a mailing address. At no time, however, did he or the editors of *Commonweal* contact me or my staff to ask us what our intentions actually were. Generally speaking, if one wants to know why somebody else did something, the best way of finding out is to ask. I believe Mr. Zahn and *Commonweal* might have done my office the justice (I was going to say "courtesy," but it is a bit more than that) of asking.

RUSSELL SHAW
Director, National Catholic Office
for Information
United States Catholic Conference

Reply

Boston, Mass.

To the Editors: Mr. Shaw's indignation would hold more justification had the USCC document been identified as a compilation of episcopal acts and utterances critical of the war in Vietnam. In such case, too, it would have deserved the "extensive though not exhaustive" description it carried—indeed, as my critique indicated, in that more limited range it would have come fairly close to being "exhaustive"!

But, of course, it was not so identified and, under the circumstances, its frankly selective nature cannot be dismissed lightly. Given the official nature of the USCC and the access it has to the full range of statements issued by the American episcopacy, one is justified in treating this "backgrounder" as I did in the article. There was no indi-

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cation that it was not a representative review, no suggestion that it had been compiled to refute a "myth." Indeed, the cover letter's reference to "a number of inquiries" concerning the position taken by the American hierarchy on the war and related issues suggests the more representative focus.

We might argue whether the notion that "the U.S. bishops with a handful of exceptions, had never taken any position on the war except one of explicit or implicit support" can be characterized as a myth or whether the USCC summary, taken now in terms of its more limited context, confirms it as truth; but such an extended debate seems rather pointless now. At the November meeting the bishops did issue a statement which, if it does not make up for the long years of silence, does at least attempt to alert the Catholic community to the immorality of the ongoing conflict. The important thing for now is to move from the level of statements to some kind of effective action to bring the war to an end.

GORDON C. ZAHN

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Steinfels (Cont.)

do otherwise, incidentally, would have meant a mound of paperwork that would have occupied me full time for months."

Can an F.B.I. where agents call the security squad the "graveyard" and one another "fascist pigs," and where the agent sent chasing Mao's *Quotations* momentarily considered ordering a copy and having the Drum and Spear Bookstore mail it to his supervisor, possibly be a threat to the Bill of Rights? Is it possible that J. Edgar Hoover is a paper tiger after all, or a bogeyman for librals who badly want to be scared; and that the chief victim of F.B.I. harassment is the bureau itself?

Do not, in fact, the "Confessions" come at precisely the moment they are least needed, when the bureau is racked by the dissatisfaction of which they are a reflection, and when, ironically, there are even reports of elements in the Justice Department pressing for Hoover's resignation because they feel that the paperwork and his sensitivity to criticism have made the bureau too *cautious* in rooting out subversives?

Quite apart from the information about the F.B.I.'s more efficient operations which the "Confessions" and other revelations have contained, I think there is another fact which prevents us from taking such a comforting view of the matter. Both the *New York Review* article and the newspaper accounts, which involved confirming statements from "reliable sources," indicate that nothing about the activities described here is new. Illegal monitoring of bank records, political involvement, haphazard and indiscriminate collection of information—none of these is a recent innovation in F.B.I. work; indeed they were, if anything, once more prevalent. What has changed, and could change again, is the climate of opinion. I wonder whether the author of the "Confessions" would have found currents of opinion to support his growing uneasiness with the bureau in the '50s; and if he had, whether his revelations would have been page-one material—or would have been dismissed as the gripes of a disgruntled former employee? If all that filing away of information by our federally subsidized pack-rats seems more silly than sinister, that is a luxury we have ourselves earned. By insisting that it was sinister, we have (for the moment) defused it and rendered it silly. Those who tell us it is *only* silly may end by once more rendering it sinister.

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REVIEWERS

PHIL TRACY is a managing editor of *The Capitalist Reporter.*

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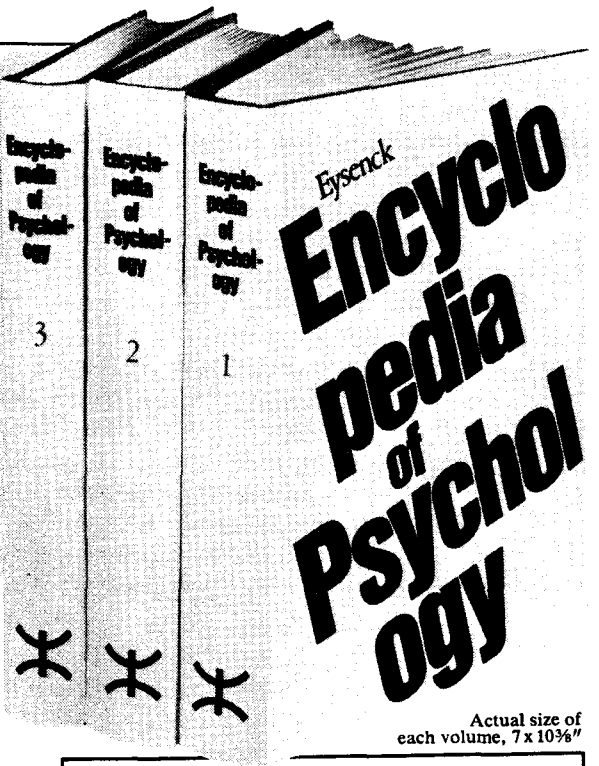

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